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**HEADLINE:** HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

**SUBJECT:** PALESTINIAN EDUCATION - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?

**CHAired BY:** SENATOR ARLEN SPECTOR (R-PA)

**WITNESSES PANEL I:**

JAMES KUNDER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR ASIA AND NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, DIRECTOR FOR AFGHAN RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION, UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT;

DAVID SATTERFIELD, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE;

RICHARD SOLOMON, PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE;

**PANEL II:**

**HASSAN ABDEL RAHMAN**, CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE, PLO MISSION;

ITAMAR MARCUS, DIRECTOR, PALESTINIAN MEDIA WATCH;

ZIAD ASALI, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN TASK FORCE;

MORTON KLEIN, PRESIDENT, ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

**LOCATION:** 192 DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

**BODY:**

SEN. ARLEN SPECTER (R-PA): It is 9:30, the scheduled starting time for the hearing of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Human Services and Education. This morning we are going to take up

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

the issue of education of Palestinian young people, the issue of the funding of the United States government for the Palestinian Authority, and the implications on the Mid East peace process.

A few days ago I had an opportunity to see some videos of young Palestinians talking about suicide bombings and the benefits of participating in that kind of a suicide bombing as an entry to Heaven and as an entry to Paradise. Notwithstanding some substantial experience in terrorism and what is going on in the Mid East, I found these videos to be absolutely shocking. Absolutely shocking that teenagers, attractive young Palestinians were stating a view that their desired goal in life is to be a suicide bomber, to kill as many Israelis as they could as an entry to Nirvana, to Heaven, to Paradise.

This hearing has been scheduled as promptly as we could because of our views that these films ought to be known by the people of the United States and the people of the world as to what is going on. We have seen and heard a lot about suicide bombings, but I believe these videos have a portrayal and a depiction on an entirely different level. Consideration was given to having this hearing in the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, where I'm a member, and I discussed it with the chairman there, Senator McConnell, and the decision was made to proceed in this subcommittee because the Foreign Operations appropriations bill is now under consideration by the Full Senate, and it was thought this was better committee to proceed.

We are going to be hearing from administration authorities, we're going to be hearing from representatives of the Palestinian Authority, we're going to be hearing from people who are in favor of the peace process, people who have questions about the peace process. Since the Oslo Accords in 1993, the United States government has contributed \$1.2 billion to the Palestinian Authority, almost all of it going to nongovernmental agencies. This year some \$20 million has been allocated under waiver provisions, allocated via the Department of State, and we're going to be questioning the wisdom of that in light of the terrorism that the Palestinian Authority is a party to. Before, some \$36 million went directly to the Palestinian Authority, so most of the funding has been going to non-governmental agencies. But even there there's a substantial question as to where the money ends up.

In 1995 Senator Shelby and I introduced an amendment to the Foreign Operations bill which prohibited governmental funding to the Palestinian Authority until the Palestinian Authority made a maximum effort to avoid terrorism and to recognize the state of Israel. Now, that is a very, very brief overview and a very brief introduction. We have a very distinguished panel of witnesses. We're going to start really out of turn here today with Mr. Itamar Marcus, who is the director of the Palestinian Media Watch, showing us these videos; which, as I say, I saw a few days ago. And that will set the stage for the witnesses from the administration, the witnesses from the Palestinian Authority, and our other witnesses.

Mr. Marcus, if you would identify yourself for the record, I'd appreciate it.

MR. ITAMAR MARCUS: Director of Palestinian Media Watch.

SEN. SPECTER: And do you have in your possession certain videos?

MR. MARCUS: Yes.

SEN. SPECTER: And where were the videos obtained?

MR. MARCUS: Everything that you will see was filmed on Palestinian Authority television. This is PBC, Palestine Broadcast Company. It is owned and operated by the Palestinian Authority.

SEN. SPECTER: All right. Will you please show those to the subcommittee.

(Video shown.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Marcus. The characterization at the end about child abusers is a vast understatement. They're civilization abusers. Their children are their means to destroy civilization.

We'll now proceed to the administration witnesses. We will first call on Mr. David Satterfield. Ambassador Satterfield is the deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs. He previously had served as

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR: SE

ambassador to Lebanon, director of the State Department's Office of Israel, and Arab Israeli Affairs on the National Security Council Staff. Mr. Satterfield is a graduate of the University of Maryland and Georgetown University.

Welcome, Mr. Satterfield. We are going to limit the opening statements of witnesses to five minutes. I have been commenting, when the announcement is made about the limitation of time, to the memorial service for Ambassador Walter Annenberg where the time was three minutes. President Ford and Secretary of State Colin Powell and I and others were given three minutes, so I want you to know what a lengthy period five minutes is for an opening statement.

Thank you for joining us, Ambassador Satterfield, and the floor is yours.

MR. DAVID SATTERFIELD: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would ask first that my prepared statement be entered into the record, and I do have some brief opening remarks to make.

The video clips that we've just seen, and there are many others that could have been chosen, do indeed cultivate a climate of alienation, hostility, incitement, what has been termed a culture of death rather than a culture of life, hope and promise. As I said, many more images of this kind could have been chosen. The subject of this hearing today is a very serious one for the administration. Indeed, Mr. Chairman, if we look back on the record of the modern peace process since 1993, the issue which has been most problematic for us and for our partners in peacemaking to address has been the challenge of how one changes minds, hearts and attitudes.

Frankly, too little attention was given to this challenge during many years of the peace process when focus was placed upon treaties, agreements, understandings. They have their place, certainly. But the fundamental changes in the way peoples look at each other and deal with each other, the way they look at themselves and their culture and society, that also has to be addressed. The administration, in pursuit of President Bush's vision of two states, Israel and Palestine, living together in peace and security, has been focused upon building institutions for Palestinian statehood, upon confronting the issue of incitement -- incitement to violence, incitement to death -- wherever it may be found.

This is a major challenge and I cannot minimize for you, Mr. Chairman, the magnitude of this problem. We have been making efforts to try with our partners in the region and outside, with the Palestinian Authority and with the government of Israel and with institutions drawn from civil society on both sides, to find ways in which to tackle this problem. I cannot tell you that this is an issue which we have succeeded in addressing, which we have succeeded in transforming from the type of images of hostility and death that you just saw to something else. But we do believe some progress -- and I'll be quite honest, some progress is being made.

It's most important, if we look at how one changes minds and hearts, to begin at the earliest stage possible in changing the nature of the culture and changing the nature of views of one people towards another. We have been successful to an extent in introducing changes into the textbooks used by the Palestinian educational system, the public educational system. Those textbooks in the past were marked by overt anti-Semitism, rejection of Israel, images of hostility towards Jews and Israelis which were absolutely unacceptable in any climate of peacemaking.

The current textbooks, which are in the process of being introduced through grades kindergarten to 12, sin more now by omission rather than commission. The images of anti-Semitism have been largely removed, but we want to see positive images of embracing Israel as a state, Israelis as a people put in. We don't just want the absence of negative image; we want the presence of positive image. And this is a challenge that remains before us. Some progress, as I said, has been made, but much more needs to be done.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

Mr. Chairman, those images which we witnessed, the challenge that confronts us as we deal with Israel-Palestinian peacemaking also is reflected on a broader regional scope. We are committed to doing everything possible not just to addressing the call for death, the call for martyrdom which we saw here today, but also the continuing images of anti-Semitism, rejection of Israel, rejection of Israelis, rejection of Jews as a people who merit a life in peace and security in the Middle East and elsewhere throughout the Middle East and the world. Here, too, the challenge remains before us. Here, too, we have not been fully successful in our efforts with other governments in the region, indeed outside, in addressing this challenge. But the administration is fully committed to applying what resources we have to this goal, and we welcome the opportunity to appear here today in that pursuit. Thank you.

SEN. SPECTER: Ambassador Satterfield, the roadmap states, I quote: "All official Palestinian institutions must end incitement against Israel." And the roadmap requires the Palestinian Authority to, quote, "Undertake efforts on the ground to arrest, disrupt and restrain individuals and groups conducting and planning violent attacks on Israelis anywhere." Are those requirements being complied with by the Palestinian Authority?

MR. SATTERFIELD: No, Mr. Chairman, they are not. We have not seen those basic steps necessary by the Palestinian Authority to confront violence and terror being taken to the extent that the roadmap requires, and indeed any meaningful progress towards peace mandates.

SEN. SPECTER: And the depiction shows Chairman Yasser Arafat on film talking about shahid. What efforts are being made to combat Arafat's efforts as depicted and shown on the screen?

MR. SATTERFIELD: Mr. Chairman, the position of this administration towards Mr. Arafat is very well known. We do not regard him as an interlocutor for the purpose of peacemaking. We have sought, working with the government of Israel, working with individuals in the Palestinian Authority and our partners in the region, in the international community, to see an empowered, credible Palestinian leadership take office and move against terror and violence as it moves towards the necessary institutional steps required to see a Palestinian state achieved.

SEN. SPECTER: Ambassador Satterfield, in light of this kind of filming and in light of the failure of the Palestinian Authority to act to restrain violence, what's the justification for the United States government this year advancing \$20 million to the Palestinian Authority?

MR. SATTERFIELD: Mr. Chairman, that decision was made after careful reflection upon the state of Prime Minister Abu Mazen's government, the credibility of Minister of Finance Salam Fayyad, the institutional checks and balances which both our own system and auditing mechanisms in place and the credibility of Abu Mazen and Salam Fayyad established. We would not have taken this step -- did not take this step lightly. We believe that that decision was appropriate. We believe that those monies are accountable fully and that they went to purposes for which they were intended.

Obviously the administration will continue to look very closely at any future issue of direct financing for the Palestinian Authority. No such financing is under contemplation at this point. Were we to do so, we would obviously consult with the Congress. We would also reflect very carefully on the issue of transparency and accountability for funds.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, you say the monies have been accounted for. Where did the \$20 million go?

MR. SATTERFIELD: They went through the Ministry of Finance under mechanisms which we believe are transparent and accountable, for both salary payments and repayment of debt to the Palestinian private sector.

SEN. SPECTER: Can you be more specific than that?

MR. SATTERFIELD: Mr. Chairman, we can provide detailed specifics on where the \$20 million went.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

SEN. SPECTER: We'd like you to --

MR. SATTERFIELD: We'd be happy to.

SEN. SPECTER: -- tell the subcommittee where every dime of the \$20 million went.

MR. SATTERFIELD: We'd be happy to.

SEN. SPECTER: Essentially what you're saying is the \$20 million was given to the Palestinian Authority to help Abu Mazen in his effort to become the prime minister? Is that about the size of it?

MR. SATTERFIELD: Mr. Chairman, it was given to the Palestinian Authority in a way that we believe bolstered the credible empowered authority of Prime Minister Abu Mazen, of the Ministry of Finance, and institutional mechanisms and safeguards which have been put in place under Minister Salam Fayyad.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, are you essentially saying that the way things are today with former Prime Minister Abu Mazen having departed, that there will be no further payments by the United States government to the Palestinian Authority?

MR. SATTERFIELD: Mr. Chairman, that was a one time direct payment, the only such payment of its kind. Before we would contemplate any such step in the future, we would need to see in place an empowered, credible prime minister and cabinet with unified security services under the control of the prime minister, and tangible steps taken on the ground to confront terror and violence, yes.

SEN. SPECTER: Would you go further and require proof that the Palestinian Authority is not going to be showing these videos with young people glorifying and self-sacrifice in being suicide bombers?

MR. SATTERFIELD: Mr. Chairman, we have made very clear the Palestinian Authority, to be viewed as a credible partner for peace, must not just move against terror and violence. That's obviously a central critical priority, but also must move against the climate and culture of incitement and violence which underlies the actual acts of terror.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, that's not quite a flat statement that additional funds will not be advanced to the Palestinian Authority unless this kind of propaganda was stopped. Could you give this subcommittee that assurance flatly?

MR. SATTERFIELD: I can assure you that we would not make any direct funding available to the Palestinian Authority if there was any question whatsoever regarding the commitment of that Authority, translated into action on the ground, including with respect to incitement.

SEN. SPECTER: Like this video?

MR. SATTERFIELD: As was seen here.

SEN. SPECTER: Okay. Thank you, Ambassador Satterfield. We appreciate your coming over. We know you have commitments today and have asked to be excused at this point, and you are excused by the subcommittee. Customarily we like the witnesses to stay because there may be some comments at a later time for response, but I understand your official duties, so thank you.

MR. SATTERFIELD: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate this opportunity.

SEN. SPECTER: Our next witness is deputy assistant administrator for Asia, Near East, Mr. James Kunder, director for Afghan reconstruction. Mr. Kunder received his masters degree in international relations from Georgetown, and his bachelor is in political science from Harvard University.

Thank you for joining us, Mr. Kunder, and we look forward to your testimony.

MR. JAMES KUNDER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have a prepared statement and with your permission I'd like to submit it for the record.



HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

SEN. SPECTER: Your full statement will be made a part of the record.

MR. KUNDER: I want to give a quick overview of the U.S. foreign assistance program in the areas in which the committee has expressed an interest. But just to start with a personal comment, USAID throughout the world, with the support of taxpayer dollars, uses the media for a number of positive what we refer to as social marketing activities in AIDS prevention and better healthcare, participation of girls in school. And I just have to say at a personal level to see this kind of perversion of media targeted at children, knowing the powerful impact that media has on children, it's an abomination to see this thing firsthand.

The U.S. Agency for International Development program targeted at the Palestinians is, as you described earlier, primarily targeted at international or Palestinian nongovernmental organizations, with the exception of the \$20 million direct cash transfer this past year. It works in the area of humanitarian assistance and more broadly at building Palestinian civil society so that there are voices of moderation in the political debate in Palestine, and that includes support for independent media organizations that show debate in the Palestinian Legislative Council, and otherwise bring in groups whose voices might not be heard in the Palestinian debate. Following the congressional guidance and the law, we do not give direct assistance to the Palestinian Broadcasting Company.

We recognize that our attempts to bring voices of moderation into the political process, however, is subject to diversion of resources, and therefore we have put in place a range of safeguards, including the vetting within the American Embassy of all of the organizations, all the grantees and program partners with which we work. We have in all of our grant agreements a certification requirement that the organization receiving U.S. taxpayer dollars is not passing any of that money through to terrorist organizations.

We have an extensive oversight operation where, consistent with the security situation on the ground, either U.S. government direct-hire employees or our contractors are out monitoring the use of our funds to ensure that there not abuses or diversions, and we are discussing these issues on a regular basis with the Israeli authorities in the West Bank and Gaza.

So from our view that totality of the U.S. foreign aid program is contributing to moderate voices being part of the Palestinian debate, and we've implemented a range of safeguards that we think ensure that U.S. dollars are going to the purposes for which they are intended. And I'd be glad to answer any questions, sir.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Kunder.

We have one further witness on this panel. Mr. Richard Solomon, president of the U.S. Institute for Peace. We'd like Mr. Solomon to come forward at this time. Dr. Solomon has served as the president of the U.S. Institute of Peace since 1993, previously served as assistant secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs and director of policy planning at the Department of State. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I thank you for joining us, Dr. Solomon, and we look forward to your testimony.

MR. RICHARD SOLOMON: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. And I and my colleagues really appreciate the opportunity to be with you this morning. As you know, our institution reports directly to the Labor, Health and Human Services Committee. You fund our work directly, as in as much as we're an independent federal institution. Normally since I come up asking for financial support, it's a pleasure to be able to describe to you some of our activities that relate to this very serious issue that is on the agenda today.

The Institute of Peace, as I think you know, was created as an educational institution. And what I will describe is a shift in our work over the last 20 years from educational activities largely focused here within the United States, to activities in zones of conflict around the world. And those activities very substantially focus on the effort to promote educational reform in Muslim societies, ranging from northern Africa, the Middle East, through South Asia and Southeast Asia.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

Our objective is to try to mobilize those interested in reform reconciliation within these societies in the interest of promoting peaceful resolution of disputes, reconciliation, tolerance, and certainly countering incitement. And what we have discovered through a decade of activities that began with work after the Dayton Accords, when we went in the Balkans and worked with educators to promote an educational system that had been corrupted by the Milosevic regime was, of course, that education is a very powerful tool for reform, for teaching reconciliation and breaking the cycles of hatred and violence.

Indeed, the power of education is precisely why the extremists have been trying to capture the madrassa system and turn it against even existing Muslim governments, whether it's in Pakistan, Malaysia or Indonesia. And so our work is attempting to empower those who seek to use the educational system for purposes of reconciliation.

And one of the dilemmas our friends in these various parts of the world face is that many of them do not have the national government resources to fully fund their educational system, so that money comes in from abroad, from what you might characterize as interested parties who are trying to turn the madrassa system in the direction of the kind of horrific propagation of violence that we saw in the opening video.

Let me describe three very brief examples of the kind of work that the United States Institute of Peace supports through its full range of programming, our grant giving, our fellowship activity, our education rule of law programs, and our professional training activities. The first example would be the effort to support the Anti-Incitement Commission that was established after the 1998 Wye River Agreement.

And two of our board members, former board members now, Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame and Shibley Telhami, professor at the University of Maryland, were on the Anti-Incitement Commission. And two of my colleagues who are with me today, Dr. Jeff Helsing, who is with the Education Program, and Steven Riskin, who's with our Grant Commission. They are more specialists on this region than certainly I. They briefed the commission on our experience about educational reform and efforts to limit incitement. Unfortunately, as Father Hesburgh concluded, after a number of efforts to engage both sides in the region, was that issues of limiting incitement were just not open to discussion. This is the late '90s.

A second example is our support for Seeds of Peace, an effort to bring teenagers from the Israeli/Palestinian societies together in the pristine, secure environment of northern Maine, an effort that's gone on for 10 years and has engaged over 2,500 teenagers. And I think the Seeds of Peace experience, which is documented in a book that we've published, written by the late John Wallach, who tragically died rather early, was that this kind of a cloistered experience, if run professionally, can help to break stereotypes, hostilities, establish friendships. And indeed what we find is that many of the Palestinian kids who went back to societies totally unsupportive of this reconciliation work demonstrated real courage in resisting the return to the kinds of attitudes that we've seen here.

The third project was an effort in which we supported a book project by George Washington University professor, Dr. Nathan Brown, who analyzed the situation in the Palestinian areas of reform, following the Oslo Accords. And his conclusions, and he should, of course, speak for himself, was that there had been modest change in the direction of moving away from the kind of inciteful textbooks and the education material that we've seen here today, but clearly much more incitement than we want to see in these instances, but some movement away from what it had been in earlier times.

And the clear fact is that the political context which would support the moderating efforts of work like Seeds of Peace or the kinds of reform efforts that Dr. Brown describes are, at this point in time, just not supportive of significant reform. So in conclusion, based on the experience of institute work, I would say the four issues I would stress is that intergenerational cycles of conflict, hatred, can be broken, especially if you work with teenagers, those who are much more impressionable. But unfortunately, as we've seen in these videos, you can also see the opposite effect. Secondly, educational reform is not a short-term process. Our work with educational reformers in Northern Ireland indicates that this is a decades-long effort.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

Thirdly, we have found professional educators who are receptive to reform and our efforts are to support at the civil society level those who want to see a curriculum that will encourage reconciliation and peace. But fourth, and most disturbing, of course, is with the political context, the leadership that would encourage these kinds of reforms is, in the Palestinian areas, apparently, totally lacking at this point. And that unless we have that kind of leadership, it seems unlikely we will see sustained efforts to promote this kind of reform. Thank you.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, Dr. Solomon, when you talk about breaking the pattern, if there is education of teenagers, isn't it all going in the wrong direction? Is there any effort being made to educate teenagers away from the culture of violence?

MR. SOLOMON: We have seen some efforts of that sort. We have funded some actually --

SEN. SPECTER: Such as what?

MR. SOLOMON: Well, here again, I think at this point we may want my colleagues to give you much more detail. My formal testimony gives a number of examples of institutions of civil society not associated directly with the Palestinian Authority that are trying to promote a curriculum of reconciliation.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, what are they accomplishing?

MR. STEVE RISKIN: Well, the institute has supported several initiatives.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, we hadn't planned to have more witnesses, but step up and identify yourself.

MR. SOLOMON: This is Steven Riskin of our Grant Program.

SEN. SPECTER: What is your name, sir?

MR. RISKIN: Steve Riskin. I work in the institute's Grant Program --

SEN. SPECTER: I would like to know specifically what the Institute of Peace is doing. We fund you \$17.5 from this subcommittee --

MR. RISKIN: Correct.

SEN. SPECTER: -- and I believe there's going to be an additional allocation of funding in the supplemental appropriation. And my question to you, what specifically are you doing to counteract that kind of virulent terrorism which is depicted in those videos?

MR. RISKIN: We're a bridge builder. We work with a variety of organizations in the region that are moderate and that are interested in removing the hate.

SEN. SPECTER: What are they doing?

MR. RISKIN: What are they doing? In one instance, for example, Yesodot, which is the Center for the Study of Torah and Democracy, they are bringing teachers together --

SEN. SPECTER: The study of Torah and democracy?

MR. RISKIN: -- Torah and Muslim, Christian and Jewish liturgy to talk about and to ferret out the areas where there is promotion of tolerance and reconciliation.

SEN. SPECTER: Are you reaching teenagers such as those you saw on the videos?

MR. RISKIN: The work with the teachers are -- the work that we are doing with the teachers does trickle down into the classroom. We have found that the religious communities particularly, and educators, but the religious communities were not involved or engaged in the Oslo process. And this is one area that in the future they will not only be -- religion has been seen as being an impediment to the peace process, but here are people on both sides, religious people, who are committed to promoting non-violence and peace.



HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

One of the other activities that we have been involved in as an institute is the Alexandria Declaration. David Smock, who works in our Religion and Peacemaking Program has been a proponent of this. And this brought together Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders in Cairo, and they signed a declaration in support of the peace process and non-violent approaches to resolving the conflict. And there is an array of activities that are flowing from that.

SEN. SPECTER: I think at the level that you describe, it's commendable. But it's not too impressive to talk about trickle down. How much of it --

MR. RISKIN: There --

SEN. SPECTER: Excuse me, I'll finish the question.

How much of it reaches the kind of young people we see on these videos?

MR. RISKIN: There are other organizations that we have and are supporting, like Neve Shalom, in addition to the Seeds of Peace Program, that directly relates to youth and gets them engaged with the other in mutual understanding.

SEN. SPECTER: Palestinian youth?

MR. RISKIN: Palestinian youth. There are organizations that work both in Israel with Jews and Arabs and across the green line, because it's our view that what is happening in relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel does have an impact across the green line as well. But there are materials that are being developed, human rights materials at the Hebrew University, both for Jewish and Arab classrooms. There's teacher training that's going on and this is certainly connected to moving toward a resolution of the conflict.

SEN. SPECTER: How would you evaluate the effectiveness -- how would you evaluate the effectiveness of all of that, contrasted with these propaganda videos which were shown on Palestinian terrorism?

MR. RISKIN: Well, this is a difficult environment, obviously. The last three years, the intensity of the conflict, it is very difficult to say, okay, here's a huge success that we have had. We are working with courageous moderate educators, in some cases legal specialists, across the green line. These are people who are committed to working together to resolve the conflict.

These are two competing narratives on the education front. We have supported work and it's in the testimony. Jewish and Arab educators together looking at what is in the textbooks and seeing how events were portrayed and trying to work out not a unified history but at least an appreciation that can then be -- and work has been done to translate that appreciation into material that's used in classrooms.

SEN. SPECTER: Let me come back to my question. How effective is that against this kind of video propaganda?

MR. RISKIN: It's a difficult question to answer. We know it is effective with the teachers who are engaged in these activities, because they are committed to working with the other in mutual understanding. And it is our hope in this work is to expand the pool of moderate, in this case, educators working throughout the system.

SEN. SPECTER: We have seen the textbooks in the Palestinian schools for a decade or more preaching violence, terrorism and hatred. Have those textbooks been changed?

MR. RISKIN: Dr. Solomon referred to the study here that we funded in part that looked at those textbooks. And before 1993, as you may know, the textbooks that were used in Gaza and the West Bank were Egyptian and Jordanian, and there was hateful material in those. And those are no longer by and large used. There is now new material coming out, and the study that we funded indicates that progress has been made.

Still, there are problems with it. But significant progress about removing hateful references to Jews in Israel -- in fact, the omissions that I think were mentioned earlier -- talking about Israel from a Palestinian per-

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR: SE

spective is as difficult thing to do is for Israelis talking about it -- where do you join the lines for a state. It's very difficult to present maps, for example, when you don't know where the limits of your --

SEN. SPECTER: Never mind the maps or the delineation of the states. Do the current textbooks being given in Palestinian schools to fourth graders, fifth graders, sixth graders, seventh graders, contain hateful information about Israel and Jews?

MR. RISKIN: I have not done the study of those textbooks. I can only refer to some of the work that's been done here. It's been less than 10 years since there was a Ministry of Education, and reform is underway. And I think textbooks at a few levels -- and there will be speakers later, I think, who can address this. There are textbooks at some of the levels that have come out that are a step clearly in the right direction of removing hateful material.

MR. SOLOMON: Mr. Chairman, let me just add --

SEN. SPECTER: Excuse me, Dr. Solomon.

MR. SOLOMON: Sure.

SEN. SPECTER: The subcommittee would like an answer to the question specifically. It shouldn't be too hard to answer. Those materials are available and the subcommittee would like to know whether currently the textbooks being used in Palestinian schools have hateful and inciteful matters against Israel and Jews. You wanted to say something, Dr. Solomon?

MR. SOLOMON: Well, I was just going to repeat that I think my bottom line on this is until you get a leadership in the Palestinian Authority that is committed to reform and reconciliation, the people that we work with in civil society are not going to be reinforced and powered by their own leadership. And so that puts a substantial constraint on the impact of the kinds of things we're supporting. But you are certainly entitled to full accounting of the projects that we support and as best an answer to your question as we can provide you.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, we'd like to have it because every year we take a look at your request for money and the budget is extremely tight, and we'd like to know what value is being received by the United States government for the \$17 billion a year.

Mr. Kunder, I note that the administration requested \$75 million dollars in direct aid for the Palestinian Authority for the Fiscal Year 2004. The bill drafted by the Senate does not contain a specific dollar amount for the Palestinians. Is there still a request by the administration for \$75 million in direct aid for the Palestinian Authority or has that changed with the deterioration of the Palestinian government and the change of prime minister?

MR. KUNDER: Sir, I think Ambassador Satterfield stated exactly what the situation is now, that there would be no additional direct -- it would be considered on a case-by-case basis. There would not be additional assistance except in those circumstances that he described that all those guarantees would be met. So I take his answer to your earlier question as the current state of play.

SEN. SPECTER: Mr. Kunder, where you fund humanitarian projects in the West Bank and Gaza, does that result in the indirect release of funds which can be used by the Palestinian Authority for terrorism?

MR. KUNDER: Sir, whenever we're acting as stewards of the taxpayer dollars anywhere around the world, I think the question of fungibility always comes up. And we cannot deny that in any circumstance a dollar is a dollar, so that a dollar going to any entity or any nation or any NGO around the world can be seen as a dollar that that organization does not have to locate or access from some other source. So at that level of generality, of course dollars going to any entity provide resources that don't have to be raised somewhere else.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

SEN. SPECTER: Well, it obviously poses a very difficult choice. You don't want to free up money to go to terrorist operations. And I know there's a real effort to try to stimulate in some moderate view within the Palestinian Authority to try to advance the peace process, but to the extent possible are you looking at situations where USA might release money from terrorism to avoid it where at all possible?

MR. KUNDER: We have a specific certification required of all of our grantees that's quite specific -- we'd certainly make a copy of it available to you -- that goes into quite detailed requirements by any of our recipients in terms of what they can do and cannot do in terms of the pass-through of money.

SEN. SPECTER: I'm familiar with the certification. It provides that the Palestinian entities will not provide material support or resources to any individual or entity which it knows or has reason to know is acting as an agent for any individual or entity that advocates, plans, sponsors, engages others to engage in terrorist activity.

So that's what you were referring to?

MR. KUNDER: Yes, sir.

SEN. SPECTER: And we've been advised that many Palestinian partners have refused to sign the pledge. Is that correct?

MR. KUNDER: That's correct, yes, sir.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, when they refuse to sign the pledge, do you give them American money?

MR. KUNDER: I'm sorry, sir?

SEN. SPECTER: When they refuse to sign the pledge, do you advance USAID to them?

MR. KUNDER: If this is an -- the certification is an absolute requirement to receive USAID assistance. If an organization does not sign the certification, it will not receive any assistance.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, okay, that's good news. Well, thank you very much, gentlemen. It's a very, very difficult issue, but what I think we have to look for is something that does hand-to-hand combat with those videos. Is there any avenue available for the United States or any other entity to put on videos or to compete with the videos which we've seen?

MR. KUNDER: Sir, if I could, on page 3 of my testimony -- I didn't capture it in my quick overview -- but we go into some of the peace curriculum and conflict resolution work that is being done, the development of curriculum to be inserted into the Palestinian school systems. And these programs, in answer to your question about what kind of impact, have reached tens of thousands of students and we will be glad to provide detailed descriptions of this program. So there are certainly competing curricula out there.

SEN. SPECTER: Never mind curricula. Any television? Curricula is very passive, television is very active. Any competing television?

MR. KUNDER: Yes, sir. We are --

SEN. SPECTER: Such as?

MR. KUNDER: Both in terms of participation, we are funding the coverage, for example, of town meetings and alternative moderate voices to lobby the Palestinian Legislative Council. We have actually funded -- because we know the power of this kind of media, we've actually funded some soap operas that portray, and sometimes it's in pretty controversial terms, but Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. So yes, sir, we take your point and we're doing some of that.

SEN. SPECTER: Anything that head-on hits the inducement to these young Palestinians to commit suicide with a bombing?

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

MR. KUNDER: Sir, to the best of my knowledge, I don't think so, but I will follow up and get that information to the committee.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, it's a subtle matter as to how you combat it. Do you have people working on it to figure out how you do it, or you have some, perhaps, other Palestinian teenagers talking about living and affirming life and not hatred?

MR. KUNDER: Frankly, sir, your hearing here today will cause us to look at all these issues more sharply in the future, and we will look at that.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, that's the first time I've heard any hearing doing any good.

(Laughter.)

MR. KUNDER: I'm quite serious. I'm not saying that to make you feel good, sir. I am quite serious.

SEN. SPECTER: All right. Let us know what is being done at the present time to combat that kind of inciting video of the suicide bombers and what you have plans to do to come to hand-to-hand combat with that kind of trash, garbage and incitement.

MR. KUNDER: Yes, sir.

SEN. SPECTER: Okay. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

I'd like to proceed now to our second panel. Dr. Hassan Abdel Rahman, Dr. Ziad Asali, and Dr. Morton Klein. These are our last three witnesses. And also Mr. Itamar Marcus.

Mr. Marcus, you've already identified yourself and thank you for making those videos available for members of the Senate earlier and for providing them to the hearing today. The floor is now yours for five minutes.

MR. MARCUS: Okay, thank you. One of the challenges, I think, facing any funding of Palestinian authorities is that not only do the Palestinians use television as we've seen, the Palestinians use the full range of social structures and cultural structures within Palestinian society in order to promote these values. And I want to give you some examples and you can actually follow with some of these texts here on the screen.

So for example, this summer, there was a whole summer camp infrastructure which we would presume is to get children out of the cities and out into the country. And yet the summer camp infrastructure was one that was focused as well on the suicide terrorist. So, for example, there was a summer camp named after Wafa Idris who was the first woman suicide bomber. And if you look at the bottom of the article here on the screen you'll see that UNICEF was thanked for its support of the camps at the closing ceremonies.

So you have a camp named after the first woman suicide bomber, UNICEF funding for this camp. We had another summer camp for the Ayat al-Akhras, 17-year-old girl, youngest suicide bomber, again, this summer. So that's summer camps are used as this means as well.

Sporting events, which again, is entertainment around the world for children, have been a means also to raise and to create role models for children who are terrorists. So that for example, just this past month, there was a soccer tournament, a major, major soccer tournament to the Palestinian Authority, the sponsors of the tournament were Saib Arikat, Yasser Arafat, Gibril Rajoub, the minister of sport, the Mufti, all of the heads of the Palestinian Authority sponsoring a soccer tournament. And the 24 teams -- each of the 24 teams was named after a different shahid, a different martyr, including people like Yahya Ayash, who is the first Hamas engineer, Dalal Mughrabi who was involved in a hijacking killing 36, including an American.

So all of the heads of the Palestinian Authority this summer put their names on a sport tournament glorifying terrorists. This role modeling, by the way, and naming after terrorists is not limited to terrorists who have killed Israelis. It includes terrorists who have killed Americans in Iraq. So, for example, we found in the Palestinian newspaper, just four days after the first suicide Iraqi terrorist killed four U.S. marines, the P.A.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

renamed a square in Jenin after that suicide terrorist. So this role modeling and turning the terrorists into heroes is directed not just at Israelis but at Americans as well.

Now, I want to step back for one moment and I want to show you a film here. We've been discussing the level of terrorism but what we haven't discussed at all is the level of ideology. And I think this must be understood because unless we understand why the Palestinians are teaching the children to fight, we won't understand why they are participating in terrorism. And I want to show you a short item here from an educational program on Palestinian television. It's significant the person speaking is the head of a history department and understanding what he is saying to these children, you'll get a sense of the foundation of the conflict that we are having today, that continues until today.

(Film shown.)

Again, I start with this because I think this is why we still have a conflict today. This message we have heard hundreds and hundreds of times to Palestinians both in formal and informal structures, all of Jewish history is lies. Everything belongs to the Palestinians.

Interestingly, the new prime minister made this comment which appeared in the Palestinian Daily just after President Bush had made a speech in June of this year. Talking about the Palestinians recognizing Israel as a Jewish state and he said, "What is the meaning and the concept of a Jewish state? Does it mean that this is the Jewish state, this is Sunni, this is Shiite, this one is Christian. These differences could plunge the region into a whirlpool."

Even the new prime minister refuses to acknowledge that the Jews are a nation, having a right to a state. He put this in the category of a religion and we are seeing that this message isn't coming in the formal education, it's coming from the political leader. It permeates Palestinian society and I feel this is the foundation of the conflict that continues today. This message continues even in the new school books -- that I will beg to differ. It's not just a sin of omission in the new school books.

The new school books continue to de-legitimize Israel and I have a couple of items here that appear in the very new school books. Israel is defined as a colony under the chapter on colonialism. Palestine faced British occupation after the First World War and Israeli occupation in 1948. Israel is foreign, they are an occupier. Referring to Israeli cities and regions like Be'er Sheva on the Negev, they talk about southern Palestine. The sea of Galilee is referred to as part of Palestine. There is no recognition in the school books. People look at the maps, as you see here in the Palestinian school books and say it is because there is no borders, final borders.

That is not the way they're presenting it to their children. They're presenting this to their children that this is the Palestine -- these are all pictures from new school books --

SEN. SPECTER: Mr. Marcus, you're a minute over time. Could you sum up at this point?

MR. MARCUS: Yes. I just want to put the two messages together with this final short video that you will see. This is from a Palestinian graduation this summer, and it combines the ideology as well as the desire that the children have -- are being taught for the use of force to achieve their goals. Again, this is Palestinian television, a film from a high school graduation.

(Film shown.)

Okay. This summarizes the essential conflict. Israeli cities are still being portrayed to the children as Palestine and they will liberate it through their stone and their knife. Thank you.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I thank you very much, Mr. Marcus.

We now turn to Dr. Hassan Abdel Rahman, chief representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Palestinian National Authority in the United States. He attended universities in Puerto Rico be-



HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

fore earning his Ph.D. from the City University of New York. Thank you for joining us, Dr. Rahman, and we look forward to your testimony.

MR. HASSAN ABDEL RAHMAN: Thank you, Senator Specter. Let me at the outset start on a personal note. I have four children, three boys and a girl. The four of them attended the camp of Seeds of Peace. I am the founder or co-founder with John Wallach, the late John Wallach of that organization and my name was on the board of that organization. I am a believer in the coexistence between the Palestinians and the Israelis, I have struggled for that objective since my beginning as a representative of the PLO in New York at the United Nations since 1974. I don't need to establish my credentials as a supporter of peace. I have on many occasions, on Arabic television as well as on American television, objected, condemned suicide bombing.

I'm opposed to it, I'm against it, and this is the official policy also of the Palestinian National Authority. Mr. Marcus lives on a settlement on the West Bank. It is stolen from the Palestinian people, it is a territory that has been taken away from Palestinians. In violation of the policy of the United States government which opposes the building of settlements in the Palestinian territory, it is in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention which considers the transfer of population of the occupying power to the occupied territory as illegal and as a war crime. Having said that, I really hesitated before coming to appeal before this subcommittee for the very simple reason, there are two parties to this conflict. Palestinians and Israelis. And there is incitement on both sides.

I see only the Palestinians brought to task here, and no mention of what the Israeli media, what the Israeli textbooks say or do not say about the Palestinians. I would have liked, Mr. Chairman, in the spirit of fairness, to have a healing on the incitement in both textbooks and both media, Palestinians as well as Israelis. And then we would have not hesitated to appear before this committee, because there are studies that are made on Israeli text books, 1,600 textbooks, that never mentions the word Palestine or the history of the Palestinian people in historic Palestine.

Whenever there is a reference to Palestine, it is called Israel. Mr. Marcus and his colleagues, the 200,000 armed settlers in the West Bank and Gaza who stole the land of the Palestinians are armed and they call the West Bank and Gaza as Judea and Samaria. They never call it by its name. No amount of education or teaching of the Palestinians, how important it is, will change certain realities, Mr. Specter. One, is there is three generations of Palestinians who have been living under foreign military occupation, 35 years of brutal military occupation, where bulldozers are used to demolish homes, while Apache helicopters given by the United States to the government of Israel, are attacking civilians in Gaza and elsewhere, where the Israeli Army sanctions the assassination extra-judicially of Palestinian leaders without what you cherish the most, the due process of law in this country.

People are not or do not need to be told that the Israeli settlers and the Israeli soldiers are bad, they have to live in the West Bank and Gaza in order to dislike and even hate the Israelis, because the average Palestinian, Mr. Specter, do not see (your civilian ?) in Ramallah. The average Palestinian encounters two kinds of Israelis, and both are armed: the soldier and the settler. And both are there to humiliate, oppress, suppress the Palestinians.

If any American would live holed in his home, for 20 or 30 days, under curfew, I'm sure they would be angry. And anger is expressed by different people in different ways. I personally would express my anger in a different way. Others express it in a totally different way which we do not sanction. But instead of cursing the darkness, we have to light a candle. We have to stop Israel from building more settlements, we have to improve the conditions for the Palestinians so they can have a stake in changing their attitudes, but when they see their parents, their neighbors, their mothers, fathers, their sisters giving birth on checkpoints, humiliated by Israeli soldiers, I assure they would be angry, and you would be angry.

I looked at those distorted tapes collected by Mr. Marcus, and I can take an issue with every statement that was made there, but that's not really the objective and my goal today. Because they are taken out of con-

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

text, they are translated out of the culture meaning, of what is said. I remember that the battle cry for Patrick Henry, who wanted to free them, he said, "Give me liberty or give me death." And that was the battle cry for the independence of this country.

Every society has its way of encouraging people to make sacrifices for independence, for freedom and for dignity. We need an understanding from you, and from the Congress of the United States, that the only way to end incitement is by drying off the causes of incitement, freedom for the Palestinians so they can live as equal neighbors to Israel. But I assure you, that the continued occupation of the Palestinians, the denial of the God given right to live as a free dignified people in their own country is the biggest source of incitement. Lets deal with the real issues and not with the effects, lets deal with the causes of incitement.

Thank you.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, thank you Dr. Rahman. We invited you here today, and others, to speak on behalf of the Palestinian Authority because of our interest in hearing what you had to say. And when you ask for time to state the incitement by Israel, we're prepared to give you that time. You spoke for longer than the allotted time, but there was quite a bit on the other side, and I thought as a matter of fairness to hear you out and we'd care to hear you further.

MR. RAHMAN: Thank you.

SEN. SPECTER: If you care to amplify as to the incitement on the part of the Israelis, we're prepared to give you whatever time you'd like to have.

MR. RAHMAN: No, Mr. Chairman, I know you are a fair person and I know that you want to help, but again, what I wanted to say, that after the Wye River Accords we established a bilateral commission of the Israelis, Palestinians and Americans to monitor the media and monitor incitement on both sides. And a great deal has been done in that regard and we continue to express our readiness to work with the Israelis and with the Americans to monitor incitement on both sides.

But I cannot accept that the basis for the position of the United States Senate will be a distorted video tape collected by Mr. Marcus who is a settler on the West Bank. That is absolutely unfair to the Palestinians because those are a collection of items taken out of context, Senator. They are not accurate translations of what has been said.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, Dr. Rahman, let's examine that. Customarily we go through the entire panel before questioning, but we're going to proceed just a little differently because of what you've said. I'm going to take a few minutes, then yield to Senator Clinton to give her an opportunity to raise questions. Where you say the comments were taken out of context, we just saw the videos and I am not in a position to have translated them, but we have seen teenagers and an 11-year-old girl --

MR. RAHMAN: Yes.

SEN. SPECTER: -- say that she was prepared to give her life as a suicide bomber in order to go to heaven. Is that an inaccurate translation of what she said?

MR. RAHMAN: Well, what we -- what she was saying, she was making a religious statement which every religion -- if I go the Torah I will find references that I may not like. And that I have in fact a statement here about what happened in Jericho after the invasion of Jericho and it really it is -- I may not like it. So we cannot translate religious statements into policy. There's a difference there, Mr. Chairman, I'm sure that you're aware of that. So we keep the religious discussion out of it.

When there's a reference to the history, the professor of history who said something about the war, that it did not exist. But if you ask the Jewish followers of the Jewish religion and ask them did Mohammed -- was he a prophet, they will tell you no. I don't take that as an offence, that is their religious belief. We have to put

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

religion aside. So -- and we deal with politics here. If we want to take a statement that made by a sheikh in a mosque and base our policy on that statement, we'd go nowhere.

And we would reach the wrong conclusions. I am saying that we have textbooks that we have to deal with. We have television stations we have to deal with. We have incitement, yes, but the incitement is a product of the conditions that exist in the Palestinian territories.

SEN. SPECTER: Dr. Rahman, how about the part where the young man had written a letter to his father saying, "Do not grieve for me, I have given my life for my country and I have sacrificed myself so that I can go to heaven." Was that also a religious statement?

MR. RAHMAN: Yes, I --

SEN. SPECTER: Let me finish my question.

MR. RAHMAN: I'm sorry.

SEN. SPECTER: Or wasn't that a statement by a young man who had in fact been a suicide bomber?

MR. RAHMAN: If I -- if I remember correctly what was said, the kid is 14 years old. He's saying to his father when I become 18 I'm going to fight for my country and be a shahid for my country. He did not do it, he was not a shahid yet.

SEN. SPECTER: But Dr. Rahman --

MR. RAHMAN: If I recall correctly what I saw.

SEN. SPECTER: But Dr. Rahman, isn't it true that there have been very young people, Palestinians who have become suicide bombers --

MR. RAHMAN: Yes.

SEN. SPECTER: -- really in carrying out just exactly the theme which we saw on the videos.

MR. RAHMAN: Yes sir, I believe that there has been, and there is and there may be going to be more suicide bombings, because you go today to Gaza where 70 percent of the population are unemployed and hungry. What do they turn to, they turn to God, they turn to the mosques. And they are recruited there by the most vicious people. So instead of why did not, in the year 2000, Senator Specter, did not have one suicide bombing. Why not? Because there was a light at the end of the tunnel. People felt that finally they would be free. Not one single suicide bombing in the year 2000 until the beginning of the intifada. Why? People felt there was a possibility for peace.

So instead of cursing the darkness we have really to light candles, and candles are by telling people listen no more Jewish settlement on Palestinian territories, there is no apartheid wall in the West Bank, there is no assassination, no demolishing of homes, no destruction of crops, no, no, no, then people will have something to look for. But as long as those things are continuing, I cannot guarantee that there will not be suicide bombing.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, Dr. Rahman, I agree with you totally, that as you have articulated, instead of cursing the darkness, let us light a candle. Where do we go from here? When former Prime Minister Barak offered a statehood at Camp David and it was declined by Chairman Arafat, where do we go from here? Where do we light the candle, how?

MR. RAHMAN: Well, sir, I happen to be a witness to the Camp David and I assure you what Mr. Barak offered then was not an independent Palestinian state. He offered the three cantons in the West Bank that were not independent. We have a roadmap today that is ahead of us, we agreed to it, we accepted and I believe that it can guide our efforts to achieve peace. If the Israelis are serious, we are serious we can get tomorrow into the implementation of the road map.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

What was offered in Camp David was unacceptable to the Palestinians because it does not give back to them what -- the minimum, the Palestinians then were asking for 22 percent of historic Palestine. And they were in exchange, conceding and recognizing the right of Israel within 78 percent of historic Palestine.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, Dr. Rahman, in articulating the view that you accept the roadmap, the roadmap calls for the Palestinian Authority to exercise its maximum efforts to stop violence.

MR. RAHMAN: Yes.

SEN. SPECTER: Wouldn't that comprehend stopping the playing of these kinds of videos which incites a suicide bombing by teenagers?

MR. RAHMAN: Yes, the roadmap asks both parties to do certain things. Asks the Palestinians to stop violence and do everything that was in their power to do that, and we do achieve 52 -- 51 days of total calm. While on the other side, it asked Israel to dismantle Jewish settlements, outposts in the West Bank. It did not. They asked Israel to stop assassination of Palestinians, it did not. It asked Israel to stop building the wall, it did not. So there were on both sides, not total compliance, but we had 51 days of total quiet. While on the Israeli side, within those 51 days, over 80 Palestinians were killed by Israel.

SEN. SPECTER: If you have something to add, fine, if not, let's turn to Dr. Ziad Asali, and we'll come back to you, Dr. Rahman --

MR. RAHMAN: Thank you, Senator.

SEN. SPECTER: -- if you'd care to address the subject further.

Dr. Asali is president and founder of the American Task Force on Palestine. He has been a member of the Chairman's Council of the American Arab Anti-discrimination Committee since 1982. Received his undergraduate degree from American University of Beirut and an M.D. from the American University of Beirut Medical School. Thank you for joining us, Dr. Asali, and we look forward to your testimony.

MR. ZIAD ASALI: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's an honor and a privilege to appear before you.

SEN. SPECTER: Sorry, Dr. Asali, they have just started a vote and before you testify, not to interrupt you, it would be a good time for me to leave and I will be back in a very, very few minutes, and you can start at the beginning and without interruptions.

MR. ASALI: Yes, we will gladly wait.

SEN. SPECTER: Recess for a few moments.

MR. ASALI: Thank you.

(Recess.)

SEN. SPECTER: The hearing will resume. For those who are uninformed about the interruption, when we have a vote that takes precedence over everything. Sometimes members will be at the White House on some very important matter talking to the president, the word comes through that there's a vote and we all leave. The president can't even come and vote with us. Kind of impolite in a sense. But when the vote is called, we all go to vote. But I came back soon as I could because we want to proceed. We have other witnesses and we're on a very important subject. I saw Senator Clinton on her way to vote and she's going to return.

So now, Dr. Asali, the floor is yours.

MR. ZIAD ASALI: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It is an honor and a privilege to appear before you. I received an invitation to this hearing the night before last while at an Iftar dinner at the table of the president of the United States. At that time, I learned that other Arab-American and Palestinian leaders had turned down this opportunity, and I myself was strongly advised against accepting it. It is, however, my

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

judgment that each and every occasion should be explored to bring about peace and amity to the long-suffering Palestinian and Israeli people.

Therefore I appear here before you as a citizen, a man concerned about the tragic and dehumanizing cycle of violence in the Middle East, a physician sworn to maintain the health and well-being of all people and as an individual who was born and raised in Jerusalem and was privileged to become an American citizen and enjoy the attendant benefits such as testifying before this august body.

Fear, anger, despair, violence and an almost exclusive sense of victimization on both sides, the Palestinians and Israelis, have their most damaging consequences in narrowing the space needed for policy options and rational debate. Public discourse is stunted, simplistic and crude. It is easier in this climate to follow the safe course of demonizing and dehumanizing the other. To assume the worst and to impugn the motives of the other is much safer than to explore the possibilities of compromise and working out solutions.

This is the kind of atmosphere that makes it possible to advance racist and fascist arguments sometimes openly stated but more often felt and implied, "They are not human; they understand nothing but force and violence; we should never show them any mercy because they will think it is a sign of weakness; a face for an eye." In short, a prescription for more disasters and mayhem.

The problem with history is that it has been around for too long. It has provided arguments based in fact, fiction or perceived wisdom for each party to the conflict and even for those who seem to have no ax to grind. The difference between the Palestinian and Israeli narratives continues to feed polarizing and centrifugal forces that fail to see the existential need for compromise.

Each and every effort directed against the vision of peace, the two-state solution so clearly stated by President Bush, is yet another tool to extend the violent and destructive realities of the status quo. It is in this context that we should view all facets of this conflict, education included. Because the time allotted to me is so brief, and because others I know who have spent years studying this subject and writing about it are not present on this panel, I will sketch briefly the contours of the arguments as I see them for education.

I am for the record including what I think are useful and thoughtful studies about the issue of Palestinian textbooks and hope that people entrusted with making decisions about it, or are serious students of it, will take time to read them. Jordanian textbooks in the West Bank and Egyptian textbooks in Gaza continued to be taught to students from 1948 through 1967 and for several decades after that, under Israeli occupation, until the problem of their content was faced after Oslo by the Palestinian Authority in 1994. At that time, the Curriculum Development Center, CDC, was established, and it began studying and overhauling the educational system and started over to phase in a new set of books beginning with the academic year 2000- 2001.

Much, if not all of the criticism leveled at the Palestinian textbooks for incitement, anti-Semitism or marginalizing Jewish history has, in fact, been directed at the Egyptian and Jordanian textbooks over which the Palestinians had no control. In fact, it was the Palestinians who toiled for years after Oslo to give birth to reasoned and thoughtful solutions to the unique issues that face a people under occupation and how they should educate their children. No serious scholarly substantiated criticism has so far been directed against the new books, although strident, emotionally charged and factually challenged statements continue to be bandied about.

Akiva Eldar, the renowned Ha'aretz columnist, wrote in January 2, 2001, "The Palestinians are punished twice. First, they are criticized for books produced by the education ministries of others. Secondly, their children study from books that ignore their own nation's narrative." I have included his article for the record. The European Union, in a statement issued in Brussels on May 15, 2002, concluded that, "Quotations attributed by earlier Center for Monitoring the Impact on Peace, CMIP, are not found in the new Palestinian Authority schoolbooks.

New textbooks, although not perfect, are free of inciteful content and improve on the previous textbooks, constituting a valuable contribution to the education of young Palestinians." It concluded, "Therefore, allega-



HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

tions against the new textbooks funded by EU members have proven unfounded." I have included that statement in the record.

The eminent scholar, Nathan Brown, professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University issued a 26- page report in November 2001, prepared for the Adam Institute on Democracy, History, and the Contest over the Palestinian Curriculum, that made a most significant contribution to this subject. He concluded by saying, "Harsh external critics of the PNA curriculum and textbooks have had to rely on misleading and tendentious reports to support their claim of incitement." A reading of his full report that I included for the record is most compelling. The daily life of the Palestinian children, with occupation, closures, violence, demolitions, checkpoints, bravado, fear, suicide bombing, air raids, humiliation, economic hardship, vengeance, religious extremism, as well as a break down of traditional values, are realities, realities that cannot be disassociated from the class room.

It is those realities that we need to resolve by bringing about peace and security for all. Textbooks that Israeli students read can also be reviewed to bridge the gap between their realities and their classrooms as we they -- as we improve on those realities too. In conclusion, I would like to say that history has been unkind to the Jews, the Israelis and the Palestinians. Where narratives of programs, ghettos, holocausts, survival and achievement on the one hand, and dispossession, occupation, demolition and humiliation, as well as resistance and persistence on the other hand, are but just sad tales of two people caught in a complex web of history.

Let us as least, those of us with hope for humanity, try with our thoughts focused on the future of our children, rather than on the past of our forefathers, work for peace and dignity for these two courageous people. Let us not allow the demagogues of all sides, the violent elements, and the ones with the least sense of fundamental human values dictate the agenda and undermine peace.

Thank you for your attention.

SEN. SPECTER: Dr. Asali, thank you very much for joining the subcommittee today and for that very profound statement when you talk as you did at the opening about, quote, "Fear, anger, despair, violence and almost an exclusive sense of victimization on both sides." Very poignant and very profound, and your conclusion about the unkindness of history to the Jews, Israelis, Palestinians, and your call to prohibit "the demagogues and the violent elements, and the ones with the least sense of fundamental human values dictate the agenda and undermine peace." Again, profound and right to the point. What would your suggestion be as to where we go from this point forward?

MR. ASALI: It has been most frustrating problem to me that the collective will of people who do want peace, who want the two-state solution, as expressed in polls showing that 70 percent of the American people, 70 percent of Jewish Americans, 65 percent of Israelis are all for a two-state solution as we understand it with the general two for two based, two-state schedule etcetera, etcetera. That collective will has been undermined, vetoed and prevented from fruition by more strident voices, more energetic and polarizing forces, that appeals to the lower instincts of people on all sides.

It is time to redefine this conflict in my mind, as not one between the Israelis and the Palestinians, between the Arabs and the Jews, between the Muslims and the Christians, it is rather between those who are for peace from all these categories, who are for a peaceful resolution of this long conflict, to establish a two-state solution as defined by so many people and those who oppose it vehemently. It is time to have those bridges established and have fundamental relations and political forces realigned courageously, publicly, and take the credit or the blame for these stands in order to thwart the forces that have used demagoguery, violence and their whatever political or military clout that they could to frustrate the rest of us.

SEN. SPECTER: Thank you, Dr. Asali.

MR. ASALI: Thank you.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

SEN. SPECTER: Senator Clinton, would you care to make an opening statement at this time or a question?

SEN. HILLARY CLINTON (D-NY): Well, I thank you very much, Senator Specter, for holding this important hearing, and I will submit my entire statement for the record.

I wholeheartedly agree with what I heard as I came in from Dr. Asali's testimony about advocating for a two-state solution that is premised on security and peace and opportunity, and it's long been my position that's the only option available for people of good faith. It is troubling though, and that is something that I think we have to recognize, that with the testimony and the documentary evidence concerning the actually, the glorification of suicide killers and the incitement of young people to aspire to that position, and the martyrdom that it may, in their minds, offer them, that's very hard for any of us that believe there has to be some resolution of the ongoing dispute to understand.

And I don't believe that there has been an adequate and consistent repudiation of the rhetoric of hate and the incitement of young people by the authorities in the Palestinian Authority, and I think that's so important, and I think it needs to be not just done once, but over and over and over again. The position that I bring to this, is that for, you know, many years I've tried to do what I could to help children and to provide better opportunities for them. And my heart goes out to the Palestinian children, as well as the Israeli children who had nothing to do with creating the conditions in which this violence occurs, and yet are having to grow up fearful, having to grow up and see the losses of loved ones, for whatever reason.

You know, let's not talk about who did what to whom and what the history is. But the fact is, we owe our children better than that and I think that it is just heartbreaking to see the portrayal of martyrdom as something that a young child should be encouraged to hope for and aspire to. It's not just in the testimony and the evidence presented today, but in many other settings I've seen similar messages and they are broadcast on the Palestinian Authority TV, played over and over again, children playing death games, children, you know, being interviewed and kind of rote-ly reciting that death by shahada is good.

It is a chilling example, and it is a real distortion of childhood and of adult responsibility. I mean, we can have all the arguments we want, and we can accuse each other of all the wrongdoing that goes back as far as the mind can remember, but we should not do it at the expense of you know, further undermining the opportunities and the futures of these children. And so I just have to say that what is happening now, and what seems to be endorsed and supported by the Palestinian leadership through the P.A. TV is troubling, and that has to end. I mean there are many other arguments still to be had and as we all remember, you know, many people thought that we were very close in the year 2000, from Camp David forward.

And we couldn't -- we couldn't continue the negotiations. We couldn't get a responsive partner on the other side, it was very discouraging. But from my perspective, no matter what the ongoing, political, diplomatic, historical arguments must be worked out, these horrible examples of encouraging young people to be tools in this adult conflict is just not to be condoned or permitted to continue.

You know, I saw reports of a recent book called "Army of Roses" by Barbara Victor about women suicide bombers, you know, that's a new development. Now, you know, I believe in women's participation in societies as fully as possible, it's just tragic that that is now a way in which some women are choosing to conduct themselves. But in this book, the author has very compelling evidence about the fact that suicide bombers often are trained and brainwashed into seeing themselves as these martyrs, and the author did something which I found as a mother very touching.

Often times, you see the mothers of the suicide bombers, both young men and young women, and they are appearing fearless and very devoted to the cause and very proud of their daughter or their son who's gone off to blow themselves up and kill others with them. But this author went behind the scenes and actually talked to these mothers when the cameras were off, and they were reduced to tears, and they shared the feel-

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

ings that any mother would about what is happening. Why would my child do this? And often these are children with some of the very best futures for a Palestinian state.

These are children who are going to college, these are children who have the opportunity to contribute to building a strong Palestinian state, and instead they are, in my view, brainwashed into committing suicide for reasons that have very little to do other than the continuing desire by those who encourage them to pursue a path of terrorism and violence. So there must be a way out of this on the diplomatic and political front, but in the meantime all adults no matter what our political position, no matter what the grievances that we may carry toward another, should be at least united in saying let our children live to make their own decisions in the future.

And it would be extremely beneficial to achieve the goals that I think many of us -- or at least I'll speak for myself and what I heard from Dr. Asali share -- of someday seeing the children of Israel and Palestine living in peace to, without equivocation, repudiate and condemn this continuing abuse of children and this incitement to hatred that we have much more evidence of than just what has been presented by Mr. Marcus.

SEN. SPECTER: Thank you very much, Senator Clinton.

We now turn to our final witness on the panel who is Dr. Morton Klein, national president of the Zionist Organization of America, a member of the executive committee of the American-Israeli public affairs committee. He has led successful campaigns anti-Israel bias in leading textbooks, travel guides and the media. He served as an economist in the Nixon-Ford and Carter administrations and has been an outspoken advocate against terrorism and ways of bringing Palestinian terrorists to justice in the United States under our Terrorist Prosecution Act. Thank you for joining us, Dr. Klein, and the floor is yours.

MR. MORTON KLEIN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to address this panel and I would ask that my remarks be placed as part of the record.

SEN. SPECTER: Your full statement will remain part of the record as will all other full statements without objection.

MR. KLEIN: And thank you, Senator Clinton, for being part of this important discussion. First of all I want to make a few opening remarks. I was troubled by -- I didn't understand Dr. Rahman initially stating that these translations were inaccurate and incorrect, and without telling us what they really said, he then went on to say that they're simply religious statements so they don't matter anyway. Well, it can't be both ways.

He also talked about the fact that Palestine -- that this was Palestinian Arab land all these years. In fact, we should understand that Palestine was never a country. It was only a region controlled by Turkey and the British until 1948, and in fact even Mark Twain wrote an essay in 1868 saying he went through the length and breadth of Palestine and there was virtually no people there. It was just marshes and swamps. He didn't understand why Jews even wanted to come and live there.

And I would ask Dr. Rahman, can he name any Palestinian kings and queens? This was not a country of Palestinian Arabs, and in fact of all the census that he's done Jerusalem, the majority of people living in Jerusalem since the mid-1800s was Jewish. Also about the Barak deal, President Clinton and Dennis Ross, our lead negotiator, made it clear that this was a real offer of 97 percent of Judea and Samaria -- contiguous land was emphasized -- that this was contiguous. Billions of dollars in aid, all of Gaza and half of Jerusalem. And instead of having even a counter offer the Palestinian Authority simply launched a terror war. And the reason that the Jews in Judea and Samaria are armed are not to intimidate Palestinian Arabs or to hurt them, it's because they are constantly threatened by terrorists. It's to defend themselves.

There's been virtually no terror attacks or killing with rare exception of Palestinian Arabs by Jews who live in Judea and Samaria. And I find it utterly racist, frankly, to ask Jews not to live in Judea and Samaria. Why can't 200,000 Jews live among two and a half million Arabs in Judea and Samaria and Gaza, when a

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

million Arabs live among five million Jews in Israel proper? I think we have to understand that. And by the way, there are many other polls -- Mr. Asali mentioned some polls. McLaughlin Group, Hannoch Smith, who's the Gallup Poll of Israel, showing a clear majority of Americans and Israelis against a state, a Palestinian state, because they believe it will be a terrorist state.

Tragically, in the last 10 years, there's not been halt to anti- Jewish and anti-Israel incitement in the schools, media and children's camps. An entire culture of hatred has developed -- with the suicide bombers, the P.A. pays for such posters of killers. This is one of the suicide bombing killers posted all over the schools, universities, high schools, the streets, honoring suicide bombers, paid for by the Palestinian Authority. It's just awful. The children's camps teach Arab youngsters how to kidnap and murder Jews. Streets, cities, schools, summer camps are named after the suicide bombers honoring them. It's just a tragic situation.

If the Palestinian Authority was serious about peace, not only would they end this culture of hatred and murder, they would confiscate the tens of thousands of illegal weapons in the hands of terrorists. They would get rid of Hamas' Islamic Jihad. Instead, they refuse to do anything. They've arrested virtually no terrorists over this 10 year period, and as Madeline Albright said, it's revolving door justice. The few times they have arrested terrorists, they were released within a matter of weeks or months. Even Mohammad Abbas and the current prime minister Ahmed Querei have vowed they will not fight against Hamas and Islamic Jihad. This is not how we can get to peace.

The human rights abuses in the region, in the Palestinian Arab territories are legion. Human Rights Watch, Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group have said that there is large scale torture of dissidents perpetrated by the Palestinian Authority regime and dozens of people have been tortured and murdered in P.A. prisons. Christians are persecuted so ruthlessly by the P.A. regime that several U.S. courts have granted Christians asylum in America on the grounds that they would be persecuted for their religion if they returned to P.A. controlled territories.

And the P.A. continues to engage in actions hostile to the U.S. It shelters dozens of terrorists who have been identified as murderers of Americans. It refused only recently to permit the FBI to investigate the recent terrorist murders of three U.S. diplomatic personnel. The P.A. vociferously supported Saddam Hussein and other enemies of the U.S. and then constantly distributes vicious anti- American propaganda in the official P.A. media. It pays salaries to imprisoned terrorists who have murdered Americans and name streets and parks after killers of American citizens. The P.A. runs bomb factories and smuggles weapons through tunnels from Egypt into Gaza and the violence, of course, continues.

How should we respond to this? Until now, I believe tragically and mistakenly the U.S. policy has been focused on trying to appease the P.A. regime. Dennis Ross said recently that they made a serious mistake ignoring this incitement for all these many years. The present administration is offering the P.A. a sovereign state and has more than doubled the annual aid allotment to 213 million. The assumption is that offering funds in the state they would agree to live in peace.

But recent studies show that suicide bombers are better educated and more affluent than their fellow Palestinians. And a recent survey shows a majority of Palestinians today want violence against Israelis to continue even if a Palestinian state is established. That survey was done only this past week. And remember, Syria, Libya, Iraq and North Korea are sovereign states. They're not lovely places. Sovereignty will not ensure a lovely, civilized, democratic situation. Throughout history, appeasement has never worked. Professor Donald Kagan of Yale, distinguished classicist and historian, in his book on the origins of war wrote, in studying 3,000 years of international treaties, appeasement has always failed in those 3,000 years and it hasn't worked with the P.A. either.

The message given in speeches to Arab audiences by P.A. officials constantly say that all of Palestine includes Israel and we must destroy Israel. The message of wiping out Israel is reinforced in the maps, in the offices and even on P.A. official letterheads. I happen to have an actual letterhead that **Hassan Abdel Rahman** has used in his own testimonies in the past. At the top, there's an emblem of the Palestinian Authority

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

with a map -- you see the black there, the small -- it's all a visual as Palestine. On their official stationary used in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee for Foreign Operations, and that is the message that's being sent that all of Israel as Palestine -- the same with their Atlases.

The yellow there, which is Israel within the green line, is described as Palestine, not as Israel. The name Israel doesn't appear on any of the atlases whatsoever. The time has come for a new approach. It's time to recognize that the P.A. is not a partner for peace, it is a corrupt terrorist regime that must be dismantled, just as Saddam Hussein was dismantled.

Saddam's loyalists are not allowed to serve in a new Iraqi government, and neither should those who are officers or officials in the present regime be allowed to participate in any new regime that will be moderate and peaceful. There is strong precedent for cutting off relations with the Palestinian Authority. The previous President Bush undertook an experiment to test the PLO's attentions in 1998. When it failed, Bush acknowledged the failure -- the first President George Bush cut off relations. I believe we must do this yet again.

Second, Congress must take immediate action with regard to the PA's educational system. Raising children to hate Jews, Israel and America dooms any hope in the region for any serious peace. If you educate for violence, you're going to get violence. We should make U.S. aid to the Palestine-Arabs conditional and only if they completely reform their educational system with serious new textbooks, new teachers, new maps and other classroom materials.

Paul Johnson wrote in his "History of the Jews," one of the principal lessons of Jewish history is that repeated verbal slanders are sooner or later followed by violent physical deeds and how true that statement is. And the aid should be linked not just to the small portion that goes directly to the P.A. The bulk of the \$213 million aid package is not sent directly to the P.A. but does assist the P.A. since money is fungible, as we all understand.

And finally, in addition, Congress should make further U.S. contributions to UNRWA, conditional on changes in the Palestine-Arab schools that UNRWA administers. American public opinion supports suspension of U.S. aid. Seventy-six percent of Americans oppose financial aid to the Palestine-Arabs, according to a recent poll by McLaughlin & Associates.

Making the aid condition in this way will accomplish three crucial objectives.

It will put meaningful pressure on the P.A. to change its educational system, it will send a message to all regimes which promote hatred that they may forfeit American assistance or friendship if they fail to change their educational systems, and it will create the first real hope of raising a generation in Gaza and Ramallah that will be willing to live in peace with Israel. We must stop rewarding terrorism by funding this regime. Fouad Ajami, the great scholar at Hopkins, wrote, "We buy no friendship in Arab lands with pro- Palestinian diplomacy; we ward off no Arab-American terrorism."

And I'll end by saying I used to work for Professor Linus Pauling, the great two-time Nobel Prize winning chemist, as a biostatistician. I was responsible for analyzing the data at the end of experiments, and he would say to me, "Mort, I'm not interested in your hopes and dreams. Tell me what the data requires us to believe. I want peace. All of us want peace, but we must look at the evidence. The evidence shows the Palestinian Authority tragically is not interested in peace, it is interested in working to destroy Israel as a Jewish state, and at this point, we should do everything at our disposal to end aid to the Palestinian Authority until it changes, and to end relations until it changes.

This would have an electric effect by saying, as we haven't said, that there is a price to be paid for the constant outrages against Israelis, who will not go by simply saying, we're sorry about the deaths. Let's continue negotiations. If we end negotiations, it would send a message that the P.A. would have to make a serious choice, either negotiate and end terrorism, or there will be no hope of them achieving anything. So I urge this panel to consider ending aid to the P.A., ending relations, until there's a dramatic transformation of the P.A. authority. Stop rewarding terrorism. Thank you very much.



HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

SEN. SPECTER: Thank you, Dr. Klein. Before going to a round of questioning, five minutes by the members of the panel here, we'll give Dr. Rahman an opportunity, if he chooses to, to respond to any of the comments made by Dr. Klein.

MR. RAHMAN: I honestly don't know where to start, Senator. But I can assure you --

SEN. SPECTER: You can take your time, Dr. Rahman. We've allowed overtime here because of the importance of the subject and also because of the passion of the subject.

MR. RAHMAN: I think at the outset of my intervention, I made it clear that I'm one of those who believe in the two-state solution. I have struggled for that. I continue to believe that's the only way to achieve an end to the tragic situation that we both live in. I just want to -- first of all, Mr. Klein showed a poster and he said, this is a suicide bomber and it is paid for by the Palestinian Authority. First of all, the name on that poster is that of Yahel Ayesh (ph) who was assassinated in 1999, and it is a Hamas poster and it is not a Palestinian Authority poster. This shows you the example of the distortions that I'm talking about.

Second, I have here in my hand a map that was published just a few days ago by the Israeli minister of Defense. I don't see the name Palestine on it and I don't see a delineation of the West Bank and Gaza. On the contrary, what I see here is the wall, separating wall. So if Israel has not told us where its borders end and where the Palestinian state start, how can we do it unilaterally. Listen, I acknowledge and I said that from the very beginning, that there is incitement on both sides. On the Palestinian side there is incitement, which we call nationalistic -- some. I may agree or disagree but that is the explanation that is given. On the Israeli side there is not only incitement but actions on the ground that instigate violence, which I totally oppose the violence as well as the actions by Israel.

Let's take some of the statements -- parts of the statement that Mr. Klein made. He never referred to Palestine, he never said he recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to have a state. In fact, all his arguments were against an independent Palestinian state. He referred to it as Judea and Samaria, rather than the West Bank and Gaza, the name which is known by everyone. So what I'm here to say, that the demagogues on both sides, whether it is on other side or on this side, are the dangerous elements. They are really confusing our agenda.

What we are trying to do is to bring back the agenda to the people, and that's why we support efforts like those made by Mr. Iolone (ph) and Sayu Nasaba (ph). We support efforts that are made by the group that went to Geneva, the Geneva document that was drafted by Yossi Beilin and Yasser Abed Rabbo and groups that really sanctioned by the Palestinian Authority with the hope to tell both sides that there is an alternative to this quagmire that we live in, and that there is a possibility.

And, Mr. Chairman, I really would like to see an effort supporting those efforts made by those people, by the people who are pushing peace and not taking us back to the confrontation like we see today here. I am making speeches around the country of the United States to the Palestinian-Arab community, telling them that we have an option. And the option is -- that was worked out in Geneva. The option is the old map. The option is the statement that was made by Sayu Nasaba (ph) and Iolone (ph). Those are kind of the efforts that we want really to highlight and encourage, and show that both Palestinians and Americans and Israelis that there is a way out. And we seek your support in those efforts.

SEN. SPECTER: Senator Clinton has another commitment, so we'll yield to Senator Clinton at this point for questioning.

SEN. CLINTON: I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Rahman, can I just focus on the issue before us? And perhaps it is a narrow issue but I think it's a fundamental and profound one. Will the Palestinian Authority direct the P.A. TV to remove any reference to martyrdom, shahada, and the glorification of suicide bombers from the television?

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
 SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
 - TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAired BY: SE

MR. RAHMAN: Senator Clinton, there was an effort made by the previous government of Mahmoud Abbas and there was a meeting held between Nabil Amr, who is the minister of information, and Mr. Shalom, the foreign minister of Israel, working towards that end. How can we improve the coverage in both areas, in the Palestinian as well as on the Israeli television? And even Mr. Sharon acknowledged then that progress was made. Yes. In answer to your question, yes, we are making an effort. But, again, I mean, I understand that you want to focus on this issue, but I personally, honestly, cannot separate this from the wider context.

SEN. CLINTON: I understand that and I --

MR. RAHMAN: And therefore, we cannot really, Senator -- and I hate to interrupt, but we cannot overlook the situation on the ground because this will do an injustice to the whole thing.

SEN. CLINTON: But, I understand your position, and I can only say that there are many, in fact, a myriad of issues of importance to be discussed between Israelis and the Palestinians if there is to be any hope of resolution. But on this issue, I do not understand why the Palestinian Authority cannot separate out a legitimate perspective on what is happening. And look, we all see everything through the prism of our own experience. So the news coverage on the Palestinian TV is certainly going to be very different to the news coverage on Israeli TV or on American TV, we all understand that.

But I'm talking about the affirmative support that the Palestinian Authority is giving in rhetoric and in propaganda and through the media to this phenomenon of suicide bombing. Now to me, that is separable. I'm not asking that you would in any way abdicate what you view as your rightful perspective to say that you disagree with settlements or you disagree with, you know, other policy of the Israeli government. Of course that is part of the dispute that has to be resolved.

But on this issue, it was for many years not a part of the repertoire of either incitement or violence by those who are influenced or directed by any group in Palestine. Now it has become the weapon of choice. And it seems to me that there is a very big difference from people arming themselves -- however much I may disrespect that or disagree with it -- and going forth to do battle with whomever they see as the enemy, and having young people strap bombs on themselves, going forth, killing themselves, killing other innocent people and then being glorified.

Now that to me is a separate issue that should be addressed in order to demonstrate what you are telling us, which is that the Palestinian Authority does wish to engage in an ongoing effort, they do wish to create circumstances for a two-state solution and they do wish to be separated from the demagogues and the terrorists. This would be a very strong piece of evidence that that is not just rhetoric, but action. I don't see where it undermines the Palestinian position, in fact I think it strengthens the legitimate Palestinian Authority position to be separate from those who would engage in such incitement and, in fact in my view, brainwashing of young people for such horrible purposes. And why can't we focus on that one thing? We will never in this forum resolve the other issues that separate the party.

MR. RAHMAN: Senator, I appreciate your outrage about suicide bombers because I am outraged by it too, personally, and I believe that the majority of the Palestinian people, notwithstanding what has been stated here. I agree that suicide bombing is unacceptable, it has to be rejected et cetera, et cetera. Anything that you want to say against it, I will say it even more and harder, because I will never support a culture of death. We want our children to live, like I want my children to be productive and live as a productive citizen. I have said that.

And I believe that we also have to be careful about what we saw here today. There is a difference, Senator. I don't want to be put in the position where I have to make explanations for things that I do not believe in and I don't agree with. But there's a difference between shahada and suicide bombing. You have really to realize this.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

Shahada is really to sacrifice for your own country. And you say that to your people, and the Americans said it and the Israelis call on their young people to do it every day. To sacrifice in order to protect their homeland, that is shahada. But suicide bombing is something totally different. And we cannot confuse the two and we cannot accept the confusion between the two. So please, what I'm trying to explain here, that what we saw today here when you speak of shahada, that does not mean suicide bombing. It does not.

SEN. SPECTER: Dr. Rahman, as we have seen the videos, shahada has been equated with suicide bombing. Why do you say that there is a difference?

MR. RAHMAN: I'll tell you why. Because when President Arafat was shown here and the reporter asked him what message do you give to the people? And he said that this young 14-year-old kid was facing an Israeli tank with a stone and he was shahid, meaning that the Israelis shot him and they killed him. He was not a suicide bomber. And this boy, yes, he was 14 years old and he was killed by the Israeli army. So he was not a suicide bomber he was standing in front of a tank with a stone. So does that mean that he was a suicide bomber?

SEN. SPECTER: We have seen on the videos, repeatedly, 11-year-olds, a 14-year-old, a 12-year-old, say that they wish shahada and they plan to give their life as a martyr as a suicide bomber.

MR. RAHMAN: Not in every suicide bombers, I did not hear it once and I'm willing to listen to it again.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I think that Senator Clinton has --

MR. RAHMAN: I want to listen to it again. It does not say suicide bombers, sir.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, let's see it again.

MR. RAHMAN: Let's see it.

SEN. SPECTER: I think before you do, just let me say that I think Senator Clinton has put her finger on the critical point about the Palestinian Authority repudiating suicide bombing and acting to take it off of television. And what I will do is I'm going to send a transcript of this hearing to Chairman Arafat and to the Palestinian Authority prime minister, with the question will they act to stop Palestinian television carrying these messages. But let's take a look at it again.

MR. MARCUS: If I may say something. The film that we saw, the two girls expressed the desire to achieve the shahada, the death for Allah, the end was a caller who called in and they spoke about a 17-year-old girl who actually did go and was a suicide bomber, Ayat al- Akhras.

SEN. SPECTER: Let us turn to the films themselves and if you care to make the commentary after you show the film, that would be the appropriate time.

(Film shown.)

SEN. SPECTER: Right there, Mr. Marcus, could you stop it. Right there where you say the shahadas go to paradise, isn't that in the context, Dr. Rahman, of the suicide bombers?

MR. RAHMAN: Not necessarily. I may become a shahid, even playing, playing not fighting. Going to Mecca as a pilgrim I can try and become a shahid.

SEN. SPECTER: Go ahead, Mr. Marcus.

MR. RAHMAN: This is a religious connotation, it has nothing to do with the suicide bombing.

SEN. SPECTER: Mr. Marcus, proceed with the --

MR. MARCUS: In the context of this video, the two first girls are talking about their desire for the shahada. The third girl who was speaking was specifically applying this to a 17-year-old suicide bomber and the moderator said, is this natural for a 17-year-old girl to blow herself up? And she said, yes it is natural. And the two girls in the continuation which wasn't shown for time limitations were actually asked about this and

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

then expressed similar sentiments. So shahada definitely can mean anyone who has died in the conflict. The Palestinians define all of the suicide bombers as shahids, as martyrs --

SEN. SPECTER: Let us proceed with the video and ask Dr. Rahman or Dr. Asali if they agree with other portions that it equates with suicide bombing.

(Film shown.)

MR. MARCUS: Okay. So that was it. Is it natural for the 17- year-old to blow herself up to become a shahid and the answer was, it is natural. So that is the way it's presented.

SEN. SPECTER: What do you think, Dr. Asali?

MR. RAHMAN: Yes. This is a talk show, Senator. Somebody expressing. It is not -- he is -- the reporter is not telling her that, but she is saying that I want to sacrifice for my country and I -- they ask -- in fact, even Al Jazeera Network, every single Arab network refers to the suicide bombers as shahada. That is a religious - - whether he shahid or not, I am not a god to really make a judgment on him. I personally call it suicide bombers. Others call it shahid, but shahada is not exclusive to suicide bombers. That's what I'm trying to say. They --

SEN. SPECTER: Go ahead, Dr. Rahman. I don't want to cut you off.

MR. RAHMAN: No, No. What I'm trying to say here -- this includes anyone who sacrifices for his country is a shahid. So we cannot tell people don't sacrifice for your country.

MR. MARCUS: If I may --

SEN. SPECTER: Dr. Asali.

MR. ASALI: Actually, the literal translation, if there is a such a thing for a word that exists only Arabic. Both shahid or shahada is the one who dies for the sake of God. It is a religious concept. Anybody who dies in conflict, for instance at a war, would be a shahid. Anybody who would be killed by an enemy who is fighting the Arabs or the Muslims et cetera would be a shahid. Somebody would be at prayer and he would be killed without lifting a finger, he would be a shahid. So we need to understand it in that context. Actually, we may run the risk of trying to get bogged down in minutia.

I think those videos do show a level of -- highly developed level of frustration that these young people have achieved in their own life of complete frustration with the way they live that they do in fact condone and consider it natural for a 17-year-old person to die like this.

SEN. SPECTER: To die as a martyr?

MR. ASALI: Martyr. As a martyr. I do want to mention something. The day to day life of the Palestinians under the present circumstances is really rather unbearable. There are 160 checkpoints in Palestine. There are 5,000 demolished. There are 128 Palestinian women who gave birth at checkpoints. Seventy percent malnutrition. Terrible way of life. These people are by definition liable to be exploited by those who would have an appeal to the sense of frustration to do things like suicide bombing or others. We do need to put that into a political context to resolve this question. I'm not focused very, very narrowly on these people.

Actually, the whole problem of suicide bombing if I may say is that it's two problems that are lumped together. One is for the young people themselves who blow themselves up, and another is for the people who send them to do that. These young kids just don't go off, you know. They have to have a support system somewhere that exploits their sense of frustration. They are, by and large perhaps, innocent and somehow sometimes privileged kids who feel so absolutely desperate and losing their dignity and their future so the others, who are much more calculating and none of them as young, and none of them would send their own kids to do this, would take advantage of that situation. That puts the whole problem in a political context that we can't avoid.

HEARING OF THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, EDUCATION AND RELATED AGENCIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR: SE

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I think we've gone about as far as we can go on this particular interpretation. It's now noon, it's been a very long hearing and we thank you all for staying. I know people want to make additional comments so what I would like to do is give each of you two minutes to sum up.

Mr. Marcus, you had asked for an opportunity to reply to some of the things which had been said. If you could limit it to two minutes, we'd appreciate it. We're going to have another vote here within the hour and there are a number of other things which have to be taken care of. So to the extent you can hold yourself to two minutes, we'd appreciate it.

MR. MARCUS: The Palestinian Authority has been giving active promotion to suicide bombings. When teenage children participate in the summer camp named after Ayat al-Akhras, a 17-year-old girl who was a suicide bomber, there is no greater promotion and no greater role modeling for teenagers than telling them this is the person who we are admiring. The factor that Dr. Rahman was arguing about the nuance of a film does not erase the entire society's promotions of the suicide bomb as the Jihad especially amongst children.

Dr. Rahman commented on the religious nature of this belief. And that is not an excuse, that is in fact even worse. These children are taught -- and we're talking about a very religious society, the Palestinian society -- these children are taught that they have the religious achievement. This is not true that these children are frustrated and that's why themselves up, they are blowing themselves up because they want to aspire to the afterlife. They have been convinced because of their religious beliefs that they have been ingrained with, that doing this, this type of a suicide bombing or just achieving the Jihad will actually give them great rewards in the future. So the religious component actually compounds the problem and that's why 11-year-olds are talking about we don't care about this life, we only care about the afterlife.

SEN. SPECTER: Dr. Rahman. Do you care to summarize?

MR. RAHMAN: Well, I'm listening and I cannot really believe what I heard, because Mr. Marcus is on the West Bank because he believes that God gave him that land. That's a religious statement, and he is opposing Palestinians for being religious? What else of an argument that he has to be on the West Bank except that he is Jewish? Listen, I would say the following. We do not support suicide bombers. We, the Palestinian Authority, made itself very clear on this issue over and over again. We are looking for the opportunity to take action when the Israeli army withdraws from the West Bank because while we have 50,000 Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and in Gaza, it is impossible for the Palestinian Security Forces to take action.

We are ready to do that. Our new plan minister just made a statement yesterday. He said we are ready to declare a unilateral cease fire. He is engaged in the Palestinian organizations. We hope that the Israeli government will reciprocate and accept an overall cease fire that will end the violence between the two people so we can really put things on the track of political negotiations.

SEN. SPECTER: Would that cease fire bind Hamas and Islam Jihad?

MR. RAHMAN: Yes. Absolutely. That's what he said. He said, I am negotiating with Hamas and Jihad Islam and every other organization for a unilateral cease fire which I am going to take it to the Israelis and I hope that the Israelis will reciprocate and we can turn into a permanent cease fire and move on political negotiations. And I hope that Israelis will reciprocate.

SEN. SPECTER: Dr. Asali, would you care to sum up?

MR. ASALI: Thank you. It is always helpful in this conflict to tone down the rhetoric, and I think we should focus on the grand political objective. A two-state solution cannot be achieved to be negotiated between the Israelis and the Palestinians left on their own devices. Political will, political muscle has to be applied especially in this country which is the only country that is in the position to do so, to make it happen by applying needed incentives, rewards and disincentives to both parties.

SEN. SPECTER: Thank you, Dr. Asali.



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SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEESUBJECT: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION  
- TEACHING PEACE OR WAR?CHAIR BY: SE

Dr. Klein. Would you care to summarize?

MR. KLEIN: Yes. First of all I wanted to mention, Israel has handed over to the Bush administration literally thousands of documents showing that the Palestinian Authority has paid for the types of posters that I just showed here. This has been written up and shown in Time Magazine and many other major publications, the actual documents. In addition, the school's camps and streets are named after suicide bombers who have murdered Israelis, not martyrs who have died in some other way.

And the polls, by the way, by their own Palestinian Authority pollsters show that 60 to 90 percent of Palestinians tragically and shockingly support suicide bombings. And in fact, when Joseph Lelyveld, the former editor-in-chief of the New York Times wrote an article about suicide bombers' families, he wrote that he was shocked and stunned that when he interviewed the families, they said how proud they are of their children who have killed themselves while murdering Jews. And finally, the checkpoints are there to stop terrorists from coming into Israel. If there was no terrorism, there'd be no more checkpoints, it'd be the end of checkpoints. And I find it, really a tragically and disappointingly racist statement, to say that Jews shouldn't live Judean Samaria.

This is uninhabited land where the Jews have moved into, and the cease fire, we don't need a temporary cease fire. That would be pleasant. It didn't work before, and cease fires are something that will not work in any long term situation. We must have the P.A. arrest the terrorist and outlaw Hamas and his Islamic Jihad, and we must have **Hassan Abdel Rahman** and others in the territories and ask him to stop showing all of Israel as Palestine on their official stationery, on their maps and their atlases, so I'd ask Dr. Rahman to change this stationery and stop sending the message that all of Israel is Palestine. Thank you very much.

SEN. SPECTER: Gentlemen, thank you very much. I intend to send this transcript to Chairman Arafat and the prime minister of the Palestinian Authority with the request that they stop showing these videos on Palestinian television.

That concludes our hearing. Thank you all.

END

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